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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 *a*, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Cartwright, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1883, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199): some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 35–42).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 *b*, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayara-cuzzee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soyahn (*Tehuhet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychubàt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–94); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Chelculle, Chelcule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atakannakanatz (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agachem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soycha (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualicha may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 38) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 32) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche*; see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Viguati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 66) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references, see pages 128–130.

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them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive facility for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

775 Beside this Gualicho, there are many others which
788 are supposed to inhabit subterranean dwellings, underneath certain woods and rivers and peculiarly-shaped rocks. I was very much surprised at seeing the Indians salute these objects by placing the hand to the head and muttering an incantation; and for a long time held to the belief that they were only expressing admiration for the Creator's handiwork; but subsequently I learned that they sought thus to conciliate the spirits of these places, reputed to be the spirits of deceased members of the faculty. These devils' powers, however, are confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

769 On one occasion, a horse about to run a match was taken
776 up to a neighbouring hill before daylight by the owner, and some secret ceremony was performed by the wizard. Previous to the race the owner (Waki) came to me and advised me to put my stakes on his horse, as he had been made safe to win by mysterious incantations which had secured the favour of the local Gualicho; and, strange to say, the horse, which by his appearance was much inferior to the other, did win, thereby establishing a reputation for the wizard and the Gualicho.

776 I remember on one occasion when riding with Hinchel we came in sight of a peculiarly-pointed rock, which he saluted. I did the same, at which he appeared much pleased; and on our subsequently arriving at a salina, where we found good salt, much needed at the time, he explained to me that the spirit of the place had led us in that direction. In the meeting of Indians the devils are supposed to be driven away by the horsemen chasing at full speed round and round, and firing off their guns.

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000 met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco
753 exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner
164 of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife.
● 776 Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects
[777] are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I ex-
823 plained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally
777 satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.
757 With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and some-
278 times employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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[712] 755 house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a 766 child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

I have now described most of the principal ceremonies ob- 776 served amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

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che", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with loose skulls or bones. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, putting their hands and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produce a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of coolie out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Canalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is

able, and it is never ascertained for anyone unless by order of the pseudo-holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is an unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds to the witch doctor's credit, for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will by every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's enemys of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and rewarding him as of no repute in the future. If the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And to these singing doctors sometimes many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely possessed, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oema. There are in it immemorable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts are